

# Socialist Voice

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# OFL women organize caucus

By Naomi Jolliffe

TORONTO—"Women can bring into the union the hard work, energy, and courage such as the likes of our Fleck sisters and the wives and sisters who stand so gallantly beside their brothers and husbands in the Inco battle."

With these words Kathy Skinner of CUPE Local 79, Toronto, summed up the feelings of the women who organized themselves in a caucus at the recent Ontario Federation of Labor (OFL) convention held here November 13-16.

Even though there were proportionally few women among the almost 1,400 delegates, women were determined to get a good floor discussion on issues of concern to them.

Last year women organized through Organized Working Women to get a resolution on the floor calling for an OFL Women's Committee. Even though the OFL brass refused to allow discussion on this issue at that convention they did give into the pressure and later formed a Women's Committee

This year's floor fight centered on a resolution to have childcare at the 1979 convention. The resolution committee proposed that a feasibility study on childcare be brought to the next convention. The women's caucus argued against this stalling tactic, with the result that the feasibility study will be implemented at the next convention.

In speaking for childcare, delegates spoke of the need to involve women as activists in the union movement and the need for women to organize in the unions to demand action that will help women.

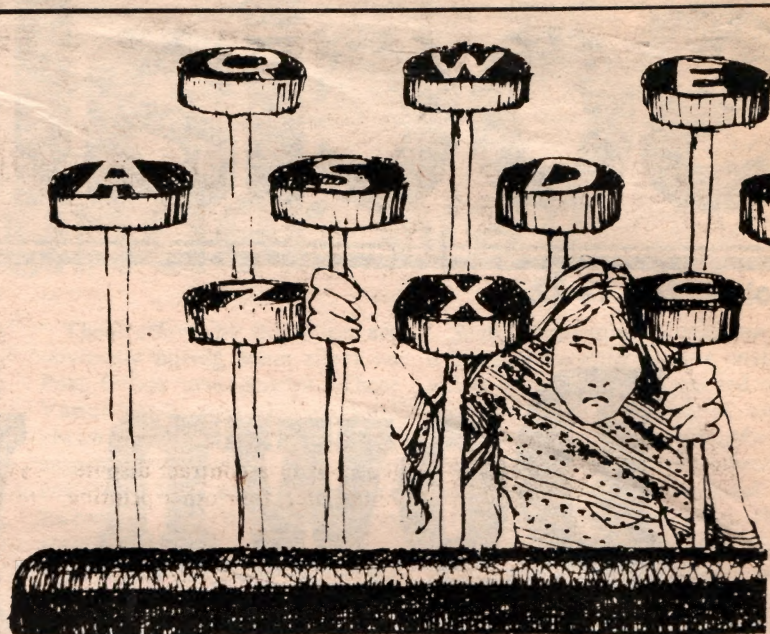
The OFL executive, in contrast to last year, put forward a significant convention paper, *A Woman's Place is in Her Union*, which was adopted by the convention. The paper calls for equal access to jobs, equal pay for work of equal value, affirmative action programs "which will bring women into jobs from which they have been traditionally excluded," and removal of abortion from the criminal code. "We must intensify our efforts to raise the

demands of the women's movement through the trade union structure," the paper concluded.

The paper put forward two action proposals. First, that the Federation organize a special conference on the equality of women in 1979. Second, "the full participation of trade union women in the NDP."

About 100 people attended the first public meeting of the new OFL Women's Committee held during the convention. Lorraine Singler, the CLC staffer responsible for organizing bank workers, outlined the standard wages and discrimination women bankworkers face. She spoke about the "anti-labor goons" in bank management, whose job it is to carry out a campaign to smash the union before it even gets started.

Judy Wasylycia-Leis, NDP Federal Women's Organizer also spoke. "Never has it been more important that the trade unions and the NDP get together to combat the drive to get women out of the labor force," she stated. "Women will always be used as a cheap source of labor as long as they live under the profit



system . . . The trade union movement is one of the ways to change the system so humans come before profits."

OFL President Cliff Pilkey, in his opening address outlined some brutal statistics. Layoffs account for 57 percent of this year's unemployment. Proposed cutbacks in the public sector would lead to 60,000 lost jobs.

Statistics from Inco are also revealing. Of 70 women in Inco a couple of years ago, only 35 remain. One more layoff at Inco would wipe out those jobs as well.

As times get harder, it will be even more difficult for women

workers. Often women have the least seniority or are in the small plants. Consequently, in the struggle against layoffs the unions will have to protect women who are often the first to go.

It was clear at the convention that women are looking to the unions and the NDP for help. Together, the NDP and the trade union movement have the power to defend and win gains for women. The job now is to win them to an active role in defense of women.

Naomi Jolliffe was a delegate to the OFL convention from the Canadian Union of Public Employees Local 79.

## OFL supports Inco strikers

By Ken Theobald

Sudbury strikers against Inco took their struggle to the convention of the Ontario Federation of Labor (OFL) to gain the backing of the province's central labor body. Prior to the convention, the OFL leadership had not said a word about this key strike, which began September 15.

Delegates unanimously passed a resolution that "the OFL give full support, financial and moral, to Local 6500 USWA," and that "the OFL organize a fightback against Inco and the governments involved to stop the export and investments of money by Inco and call for the nationalization of Inco under democratic and public ownership."

President of Local 6500 Dave Patterson, who was given a standing ovation, mentioned that their strike in 1958 was lost because the community was turned against them and they lacked labor support. This time, he said, the town is behind us and "they want to hear support from this Fed."

Patterson said the strikers are fighting not just for a good contract, but "for the rights of Canadians to take control of their resources." The Sudbury local had lost 40 percent of its membership, and "we don't know what the bottom line is." But he added,

"we're not going to back down."

After the resolution was adopted, the president of Steelworkers Local 1005 in Hamilton, Walter Valchuk, presented

### Women fighting Inco

A solidarity benefit entitled "Women Fighting Inco" is being held in Toronto on Friday, December 8 at the OISE Auditorium, 252 Bloor St. W. at 8 pm.

Speakers include a woman member of Local 6500, a spokeswoman for the Wives Strike Support Committee and the Sudbury group Women Helping Women.

The meeting is being sponsored by Local 6500, Organized Working Women, the International Women's Day Committee, the OFL, and the NDP Women's Committee.

Patterson with a cheque for \$60,000 for their strike fund. It is believed to be the largest donation ever from one union local to another.

Another pledge of \$12,000 was announced by the Ontario Hydro CUPE local. A CUPE delegate also urged that a national appeal be sent out by the CLC for strike support.

From a booth at the convention, Local 6500 members distributed information and took



Rooney/Socialist Voice

Dave Patterson

donations for buttons popularizing their strike. Delegates were each given yellow cans marked "Dollars for the Nickel Strikers" to take back to their unions for collections.

The Sudbury workers also took their strike into the Ontario legislature. On November 11, a busload of strikers sat in the public gallery while Sudbury area New Democratic Party MPPs grilled the government over its role in the dispute. When Labor Minister Robert Elgie stated that Inco's offer was the "best" that could be achieved under the circumstances, the strikers interrupted the proceedings by rattling cans containing the amount of Inco's last hourly wage offer—four cents.

## No action at OFL

### To defend public sector

The attacks on the public sector's right to strike and collective bargaining were repeatedly referred to throughout the four-day OFL convention. But delegates went away with no coordinated effective strategy to fight back. A number of action resolutions submitted by union locals were watered down by the OFL leadership and channelled into a legislative and lobbyist framework.

A resolution submitted by Steelworkers Local 1005, Hamilton, urged the OFL to "take immediate action to support any group of workers who defy back-to-work legislation." It referred to the Ontario government's recent action legislating Toronto transit workers back to work and said this and other government actions "could be the beginnings of banning strikes in large sections of the trade-union movement." This resolution was not voted on but was supposedly "covered" by another which called for a campaign to expose the "public interest" myth.

An "emergency" resolution from the executive on the right to strike merely resolved that the OFL "do all within its power to ensure the right to strike for public sector workers, as indeed for all workers, be enshrined in the legislation of the land."

A resolution on Bill C-28 was presented on the last day and debate was short. The motion re-

solved that "the OFL pledge itself to oppose electorally and otherwise all those who do not join in opposing this bill." This supposedly covered another resolution submitted by CUPW urging the CLC "to begin now to organize a bigger, broader, October 14 against this attack."

The only gain for public employees at the convention was an announcement in Pilkey's opening address to the convention, that the OFL will set up a "Public Sector Coordinating Committee" comprised of major public sector affiliates. But there was no motion or debate on this and no indication of what the committee would do. The CLC set up a similar committee during its convention last spring and it has not been heard of since.

Given the recent setbacks in Ontario for transit workers, hospital workers, postal workers, and others, the lack of any proposed actions or strategy from the OFL leadership to defend those workers was alarming.

The next few months will see contract fights coming up for thousands of municipal, provincial, and federal government employees as well as seaway and rail workers. The severity of the government's attacks point to the need for a coordinated fightback, and a common front of all public sector and "essential" workers, backed by the whole labor movement.

—K.T.

Editor: Judy Rebick  
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Second-class mail registration number 2401.

Published every second Monday by Socialist Voice Publishing, 25 Bulwer St., Toronto, Ont. M5T 1A1. Telephone (416) 368-0349.

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# News unions publish pro-strike paper

Bosses forced to buy ads

By Rob Marris

VANCOUVER — Fourteen hundred newspaper workers are off the job at British Columbia's



Ros Oberlyn, assistant city editor, hawks the 'Express'.

two largest daily papers, the *Vancouver Sun* and the *Vancouver Province*. The strike began November 1 when members of the Newspaper Guild and the Printing Pressmen's Union walked out in a contract dispute. Minutes later, four other printing unions were locked out by Pacific Press, the holding company set up by the *Province* and the *Sun* to handle the printing operation.

But within 48 hours a new newspaper had appeared on Vancouver streets, the *Vancouver Express*, published by the six unions involved in the strike-lockout. It has been appearing three times a week since then as a 38-page, two-section paper, with a press run of 110,000. Despite the attempts of the Vancouver Board of Trade and the B.C. Employers Council to blacklist the paper, it is receiving lots of advertiser support. And with no local competition, sales are brisk.

The issues in the strike are work scheduling and job security. Pacific Press is trying to wriggle out of a contract clause that sets the number of pressmen needed each shift in relation to the number of pages and the number of color pages. This change would give the company a free hand to lay off pressmen as new technology and speed-up measures are applied. The pressmen's negotiator, Gary Dunster, has called the company proposals "nothing but union busting."

Pacific also wants to reclassify as many as 50 editorial em-

ployees so that they are no longer represented by their union, the Newspaper Guild.

The company is prepared to invest a lot to wreck the unions. It has offered the 103 pressmen \$5,000 each to buy back the right to determine work schedules.

Both sides expect the strike to be a long one, like the lengthy newspaper disputes at the *Washington Post* and the *New York Times* around similar issues. Pacific Press has privately boasted it has six months strike insurance and is prepared for a long shutdown.

The unions have pointed to the greed of the company and its corporate owners, FP Publications and Southam Press Ltd., as the source of the problem. An editorial in the first issue of the *Express* explains the workers' view on the strike:

"They have the power and the money of large publishing chains behind them, but we believe they are short on humanity and principle."

"We have precious little else, except the hope of public support for our struggle against the very latest and most stylish kind of oppression."

To win that public support and help boost strike pay the unions are publishing the *Express*. It's the only paper in town and it belongs to the workers. For the bosses that's bad news. When the Pacific management wanted to publicize their offer to the pressmen they had to buy a quarter-page ad in the union newspaper. The irony was exquisite.

# ON BARRE CADBURY

## 10,000 fill streets for Cadbury jobs

In Quebec's biggest labor demonstration since the election of the Parti Quebecois government, 10,000 people marched in Montreal November 1 against unemployment and factory closures, and for the right to jobs. The massive demonstration was organized by the Montreal Central Council of the Confederation of National Trade Unions (CSN), and supported by CSN labor councils in several other cities.

A central focus of the action was the looming shutdown of the Cadbury corporation's Montreal plant. On November 18, the company began laying off 500 workers; only 90 will remain as of January, without a collective agreement. The company is transferring its production to a plant it recently built in Whitby, Ont.

Unfortunately, the November 1 demonstration, despite its impressive support, was a one-shot affair. The CSN leadership's main efforts around the Cadbury shutdown have centered on a

\$100,000 boycott campaign. Launched in mid-September, the campaign has won wide support; even the PQ government, aware of the negative effects runaway plants can have on its forthcoming "sovereignty" referendum, swung around to supporting the boycott. Stickers with the slogan "On barre Cadbury" (Stop Cadbury) can be seen everywhere.

But much more than a boycott is needed to stop the shutdown of this English-owned company's plant. The November 10 issue of the Quebec revolutionary-socialist biweekly *Lutte Ouvriere* noted that only last April the CSN itself published a document advising that "In the face of factory closures, the CSN recommends nationalization without compensation." But the CSN leaders have failed to advance this demand against Cadbury because it doesn't want to embarrass the PQ, which shuns nationalization out of fear of alienating big business, *Lutte Ouvriere* explains.

# Operation Liberte draws 1,300

Calls for continued struggle and growing unity against state repression, especially against the War Measures Act, issued from November 17 meetings supporting *Operation Liberte* in Montreal, Toronto, and Regina. More than 1,300 participated in the gatherings.

In Montreal, where *Operation Liberte* was initiated last Spring by the Ligue des Droits de l'Homme (Human Rights League) as a broad, democratic anti-repression coalition, 1,100 turned out to hear a range of speakers and musical performances. Thousands more had been expected to participate in the originally planned mass demonstration and rally, until Quebec's three major union centrals staged an eleventh-hour withdrawal of support.

In Toronto, 175 people watched the National Film Board's feature-length *Action*, dealing with the 1970 War Measures crisis, and heard a speech by a spokesman for the Toronto *Operation Liberte* Support Group. Main participants in the group are the *Body Politic*

Collective and Defense Fund, the Law Union of Ontario, the Revolutionary Workers League, and the In Struggle! group.

Tim McCaskell of the *Body Politic* outlined a long list of state attacks on the labor movement, immigrants, the gay and lesbian liberation movements, Native people, and general democratic liberties. He laid special stress on Ottawa's attack, including threatened re-use of the War Measures Act, against the democratic right of the Quebecois to decide their own national political future.

Motions were passed by the meeting in support of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers and condemning the police encirclement of an In Struggle! education camp in Capevale, Quebec a few weeks ago. A follow-up meeting was announced for November 29.

In Regina, 60 people attended a meeting addressed by Lorne Brown, author of *An Unauthorized History of the RCMP*, Paul Kouri of the RWL, and a supporter of In Struggle! A follow-up meeting there is

planned for November 27.

Organizing efforts for the meetings outside of Quebec were also set back by the pull-out of the Quebec union federations. While maintaining agreement with the political themes of the Montreal actions, the unions cited a number of organizational considerations for their withdrawal. Many of these concerned

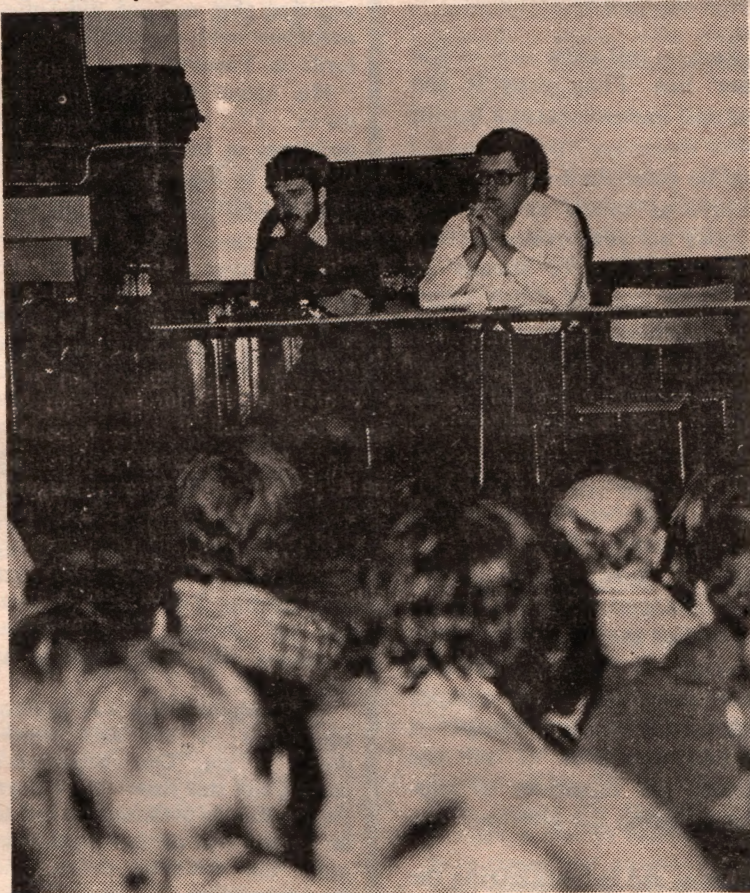
the role of the left organizations (which carried a major part of the organizing work that was done) and a stated disagreement with the democratic nature of the *Operation Liberte* general assembly meetings, where representatives of some 40 organizations regularly participated.

When the union federations withdrew, so did the executive of

the Parti Quebecois Montreal-Centre and the Human Rights League (which has recently changed its name to the League for Rights and Liberties). A proposed re-scheduling of the demonstration for December 8, which the unions put forth and said they would mobilize for, has now also been vetoed by the Confederation of National Trade Unions (CSN) and the Quebec Teachers Federation (CEQ).

At the last moment, Jean Dore of the League for Rights and Liberties agreed to speak to the Montreal rally. He expressed disappointment in the unions and promised to continue *Operation Liberte* as a vehicle to inform people about, and sensitize people to, attacks on democratic rights.

Other speakers at the Montreal rally included a representative of the coalition coordinating committee (who called for continued mobilization on all fronts, criticized the unions, and said *Operation Liberte* should remain a permanent, broad-based coalition). A gay liberationist called for support to the victims of a police raid on the Truxx gay bar in Montreal in October, 1977, a women's activist spoke against violence against women, and an Iranian student talked about the anti-imperialist struggle in his country. A representative of the RWL reported on repression internationally and the efforts against it being made by the Fourth International. In Struggle! secretary-general Charles Gagnon, a victim of the 1970 War Measures, also addressed the meeting.



Tim McCaskell speaks to 175 at Toronto rally, chaired by Paul Trollope.

## SOCIALIST BOOKSHOPS

Vancouver Vanguard Bookstore  
1208 Granville St.  
Edmonton Vanguard Bookstore  
10815B 82 Ave.  
Winnipeg The Other Bookshop  
126 1/2 Osborne St.  
Toronto Louis Riel Bookstore  
334 Queen St. West.





## Boosting business

The *Globe and Mail* called it a "boost business budget." This time there was nothing, absolutely nothing, in the entire budget which made even a pretense of helping out the more than one million people in Canada who are unemployed through no fault of their own.

Instead, Chretien and Trudeau sought "to restore the confidence of business" by handing the capitalists several new tax exemptions, as if they didn't have enough already: a 3 percent cut in the manufacturing sales tax (making no provision to ensure that its billion dollar benefits would be passed on to consumers); a 7-10 percent investment tax credit (up from 5 percent); and a luscious sop to the mining magnates, a 100 percent tax write-off on development expenses (up from 30 percent).

But isn't this an election year? So where are the "popular" crumbs from the federal banquet table for the masses that one might have expected? Such is the present state of the Canadian economy that it is becoming impossible for the government to supply any sugar coating on the bitter pill of capitalist "responsibility and restraint."

Any Keynesian moves to stimulate the economy threaten to boost inflation to double-digit, runaway rates, thereby seriously undermining Canada's foreign trade and further weakening the Canadian dollar.

"Responsible" capitalist economic policy calls for more concessions to Canadian manufacturing and industry, and for fiscal restraint in order to guarantee repayment to the banks—whether in Toronto, Montreal, London, New York, or Zurich—who have loaned money to the government. In the fiscal year 1979-80 the government will have to pay out, just for interest, \$8.25 billion. The banks take that "responsibility" seriously. (Remember the "credit crunch" they put on New York City?)

Indications are that international high finance is satisfied with the budget. The dollar remains steady. And there's even the possibility the budget may win back some of the Canadian capitalist support the Liberals will need to be victorious in the next elections.

## For a labor daily

Striking press operators and journalists at the *Vancouver Sun* and *Province* have taken a good initiative in publishing the thrice-weekly *Express*. (See story page 3.)

This is not the first time Vancouver newspaper workers have published their own paper during a strike. Similar initiatives have been taken by striking journalists and press operators in other cities. In Montreal, for example, *La Presse* strikers have several times in recent years hit the streets with *La... Libre*, a labor daily sponsored by the unions.

These papers enable the workers to tell their side of the story, in answer to the bosses' lies. They provide the public with needed information and in some cases a forum for debate on issues of the day.

But why should such a paper be published only during strikes? Doesn't labor have just as much need—even greater need—to publish its views all year round, every day? Doesn't labor need to have effective means to counter the antiworking class bilge spewed forth every hour on the hour by the big business media? Doesn't labor, in every major city need its own daily paper?

The unions have the resources, if they wish, to mobilize the money and the skills of their mass membership to make such a project feasible. In Quebec, some unions led by the Montreal CSN council were the main financial backers of the popular weekly *Quebec-Presse*, which published for several years in the early 1970s.

Unfortunately, the contents of most strike papers produced by professional journalists tend to be little more than copies of the big business dailies they normally work for. But that need not be the case. A labor daily could show what alternative journalism can really be. As a paper based on the mass organizations of working people it could champion the needs and struggles of all the exploited and oppressed, expose the injustices of capitalism and provide a forum for debating the alternative to this system.

In short, it could be an enormous aid in politicizing the unions, and in increasing the social consciousness of union members.

It's worth talking up.

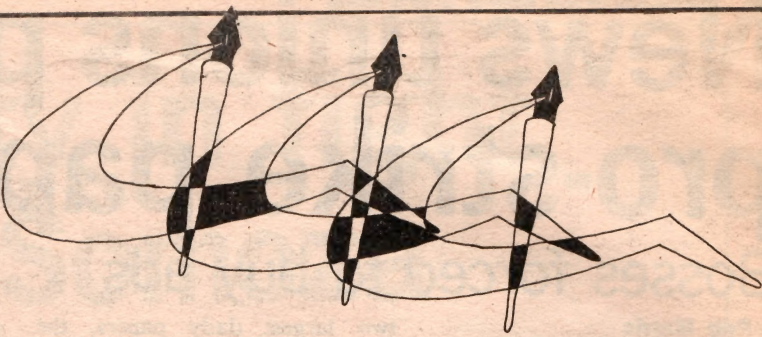
## write on

The letters column is an open forum on topics of interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if your name may be used or if you prefer that initials be used instead.

### Thank god for silver linings

The ole sky may look pretty grey and menacing to the people in this country who work for a living. It may look even worse for those who aren't even given the wonderful privilege of punching in to a steady job. But just remember, there's always a silver lining in those dark clouds.

In case you missed it, the silver lining was announced in the November 4 *Toronto Globe and Mail*. I guess the reason they tucked it away at the back of the Business Section was they figured only hard-core Bay Street types would make it past the stock market quotations. But I was feeling mean and desperate for



something to read and... lo and behold, there it was:

It seems that after-tax profits for the third quarter of the year have gone up 31.9 percent from a year ago.

You got it. That's 31.9 percent as in 3, 1, point, 9. Yes that's five times the wage increase you just won. So what? Don't you think they got to stay alive too? What about all the risk they take?

Group	No sampled	3rd 1/4 profits	% change
Banks	9	\$235.9 million	+ 32.8 percent
Base metals	8	\$26.7	+ 147.2 percent
Chemicals	5	\$ 8.7	+ 85.1 percent
Paper & Forest	15	\$150.0	+ 117.4 percent
Steel	4	\$ 72.5	+ 75.1 percent

The 155 corporations sampled pulled in \$3.5 billion in profits over the first nine months of the year, but hey, come on there, there really was a heck of a lot of risk.

Anyway, if you've socked away a few bucks and are thinking of

buying a new corporation, here's a few things to consider:

The mines look pretty strong, don't they? That's because they're particularly risky. (Just ask any miner.) The mines and forest companies did well because their big markets are in the U.S. When the Canadian dollar goes down their sales in the U.S. stand to go up. Just as importantly, the dollars they get paid in are

worth a lot more. I've heard that every time the Canadian dollar drops one cent the forest giant, MacMillan-Bloedel alone, makes an extra \$3 million.

M.K.  
Toronto

## No ally but a cockroach

By Jim Upton

We're on strike.

But it's a different kind of strike. Our fight is with the owner of our apartment building.

We've formed a tenants association and organized a rent strike to try and force the landlord to repair our rapidly deteriorating building. And we're having an effect.

Our situation isn't unique. Many tenants face the same problems. Plaster falling off walls, elevators that seldom work, inadequate lighting and garbage disposal facilities, an intercom system that hasn't functioned in ages, not to mention our constant companion, the cockroach.

What makes our situation a bit different is that the tenants recently decided to fight back.

Our decision was made easier when we learned that our already crumbling building was being acquired by one of the most notorious and obnoxious landlords in Toronto.

His name is Phil Wynn. He owns 17 other apartment buildings in the city. And every building he buys turns to a slum. Ours was already well on the way.

Like every other capitalist in an increasingly monopolized housing industry, Wynn's first and fundamental concern is to make a profit on the buildings he owns. Necessary repairs are constantly postponed because lower maintenance costs mean higher profits for the landlord. For the tenants, a failure to make repairs results in inconvenience, suffering, and sometimes even injury or death. However, a tight housing market ensures an abundance of tenants, even for the most poorly maintained buildings.

Our rent strike has achieved what numerous meetings, letters, and complaints failed to get—repairs to the building. They're only partial, but they're more than we've ever gotten before.

The repairs will likely continue only as long as the rent strike. But even if that turns out to be the case, our landlord can't wipe out the political understanding, organizational skills, and solidarity that have been developed by the tenants through this experience.

We've learned how to fight back and we've seen that we can hit Wynn where it hurts. With our

newly discovered power has come a new sense of dignity. As individuals we first politely asked and later pleaded for repairs. But nothing happened. Only when we acted collectively did we get some results and begin to feel that we could stand up for our rights.

Ultimately, the solution to our problems, along with those faced by other tenants, lies in the elimination of private ownership of the housing and land development industry. We need a socialist society in which decent housing, adequate food and clothing, full educational opportunities, quality health care, and the right to a job would be guaranteed to everyone.

In the meantime, we have to continue to struggle against the Phil Wynns of this world to get something as basic as the right to clean, decent, and affordable living conditions.

In the course of our strike, our numbers and strength have grown. The only allies Phil Wynn has left in our building are the cockroaches.

And I understand some of them are having second thoughts.

## We're off to a good start

By Darrel Furlotte

In the previous issue of *Socialist Voice* we announced the launching of a special fund drive to raise \$6,000. We are marking the 50th anniversary of the birth of Canadian Trotskyism by raising the money for a down-payment on new typesetting equipment.

We explained that our present equipment is old and breaks down a lot. Our experience putting out this issue—the delays, the number of articles that had to be typeset two or three times because the machines failed, and the hours spent waiting anxiously for the equipment to be fixed—convinced us that we had, if anything, understated our case

for needing new equipment.

Well, Edmonton *Socialist Voice* supporters have gotten us off to a good start. They set out with the goal of raising \$1,000 at their Russian Revolution celebration. The spirited rally of some 75 went well over the top, contributing a total of \$1,314.28!

Similar meetings and celebrations will be taking place in other cities: Vancouver on November 25; Toronto on December 1; and Winnipeg on December 2. If you live in one of those cities, we urge you to attend, have a good time, and contribute to our fund drive there. If there is no meeting in your area, or if you can't attend, send your contributions directly to us.

### Contribute now

Enclosed is my contribution of \$..... to the Socialist Voice fund appeal.

I pledge ..... to the Socialist Voice fund appeal. I will send the funds by (date).....

Name.....

Address.....

City.....

Prov.....



They have not been easy years. It has not been a steady upward climb by any means. But the tradition has continued, now, through almost nine decades. There is every possibility that, together, we can make the next decade a time of victory.



# The unfolding revolution in Iran

## General strike challenges military rule

By David Frankel

The appointment of a military government in Iran November 6 has set the stage for a showdown between the tyrannical regime of Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi and an aroused people.

"We support the shah in his decision," a State Department official declared. The Carter administration had the gall to portray the shah's move as part of his supposed policy of "liberalization."

Meanwhile, at least 10 journalists were arrested, all newspapers except for the government's *Rastakhiz* were banned, and demonstrators were threatened with summary execution.

"It was a good day," one U.S. official declared. "A few more like that and we can put things back together."

But it is one thing for the hated dictator to declare martial law and quite another to make it stick. In fact, martial law has been in effect in Iran's major cities since September 8.

Yet, Iran's economy remains paralyzed by a nationwide general strike, and there were demonstrations in Tehran even after the shah's latest crackdown. Much larger demonstrations occurred elsewhere in Iran, including in the major cities of Isfahan and Tabriz.

The shah had hoped to ride out the massive upsurge without having to gamble everything on a decisive confrontation. But his hand was forced by the spread of the general strike against his regime and by the biggest demonstrations in Iranian history.

Protests on November 5 exceeded even those in early September, when some 4 million people took to the streets to demand an end to the shah's dictatorship. The November 5 outpouring was sparked by the murder of 65 students at Tehran University the day before. Soldiers opened fire on the students after they had dragged down a statue of the shah at the school's entrance.

Symbols of imperialist domination and of class privilege were singled out by the angry demonstrators protesting the killings. "Banks were particularly hard hit," NBC news reported.

Also set to the torch were many of the plush hotels and shops in Tehran that cater to the shah's foreign advisers and to the Iranian ruling class. The British

embassy was burned, and the American embassy was saved from the same fate only because of the intervention of the army.

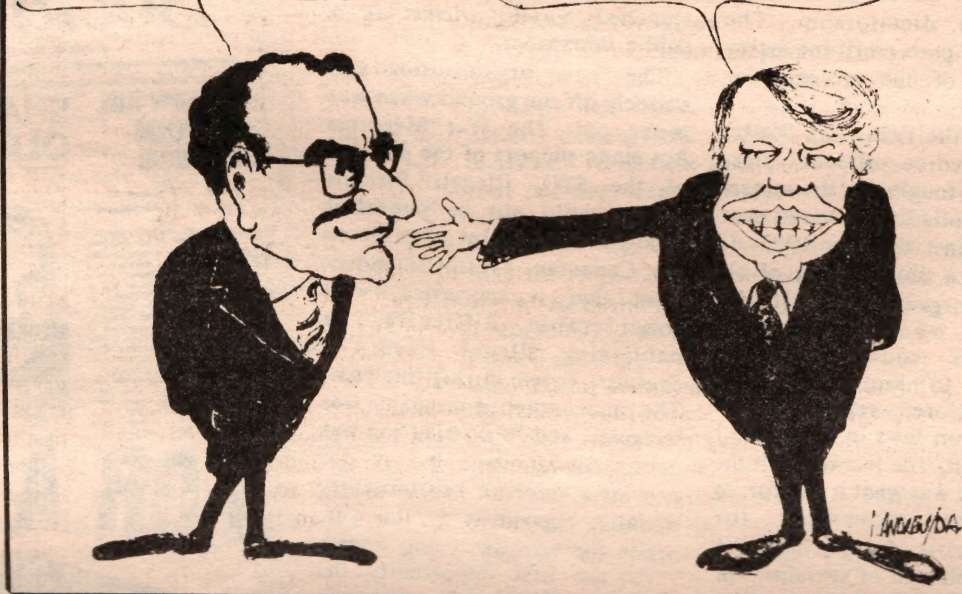
In announcing his appointment of a military regime, the shah tried to strike a conciliatory note in hopes of winning time from the masses demanding an end to

prominent scapegoats on trial for the crimes he has ordered, the truth is that he has gone about as far as he can with concessions. He is now banking on a decisive blow to break the back of the mass movement.

A string of concessions offered earlier

I'M DELIGHTED THAT YOU CAN SEE THE HEAD OF A MURDEROUS CORRUPT REGIME AS A GREAT HUMANITARIAN

5.8 MILLION BARRELS OF OIL A DAY IS ONE HECK OF AN INDUCEMENT - EVEN TO A BORN AGAIN CHRISTIAN



martial law, the release of all political prisoners, and the elimination of his rotten regime.

"I commit myself to make up for past mistakes, to fight corruption and injustices and to form a national government to carry out free elections," promised the desperate tyrant.

The man responsible for what one Amnesty International report described as "the highest rate of death penalties in the world, no valid system of civilian courts, and a history of torture which is beyond belief," promised the Iranian people: "I guarantee that after the military government, freedom and the Constitution will be freely reimplemented."

Neither the shah's lies, nor those peddled by the Carter administration in his behalf, are worthy of the slightest credence. Although the shah may put a few

by the regime included big wage increases for striking workers and the relaxation of press censorship. On October 24, the shah announced he would release 1,126 political prisoners in honor of his birthday. Thirty-four top officers of SAVAK, the Iranian secret police, were dismissed on October 29. And on November 1 the shah promised to release 1,000 more political prisoners and to abolish special military tribunals.

But the shah's concessions were too little and too late. In fact, the accounts of injustice and torture from those prisoners released October 26 only served to deepen the anger of the masses and spur on the struggle for an end to the monarchy.

More political prisoners, more censorship, more torture and repression will be used by the shah in attempting to break this mass struggle. And if the shah is successful, there will be no need for him to talk about reforms any longer.

What is worrying Carter is that the shah may well fail in his efforts to crush the Iranian masses.

"The military government is about the last card the shah has to play," one U.S. official told *Washington Post* reporter Jim Hoagland. "He doesn't know what to do next, and neither do we. It will be a miracle if he is still around to hold the elections he has promised."

### 'Death to the shah'

Such doubts about the shah's future are certainly warranted by the situation in Iran. "Despite official denials," *Washington Post* correspondent William Claiborne reported November 4, "Iranian Finance Ministry officials concede privately that labor unrest permeated the country's entire industrial base."

Describing the atmosphere in the country, Claiborne noted that in the Finance Ministry itself, about half the employees were on strike, and that demonstrators in the ministry headquarters had been "running up and down the corridors, shouting 'Death to the Shah.'"

Referring to the strikes paralyzing the economy, Claiborne explained that "workers go to their jobs and receive pay, but simply do no work, or conduct 'work to rule' actions so exaggerated that production is practically nil."

"Many factories, while technically open, reportedly have become little more than meeting places for disgruntled workers to hold political meetings and discuss new demands."

The strike by oil workers in particular, which has cut off petroleum exports valued at \$21 billion a year—60 percent of the country's gross national product—has the shah's regime by the throat.

The oil workers, like other strikers, are raising political demands, not simply economic ones. Among them are an end to martial law, release of all political prisoners, punishment of the perpetrators of massacres carried out by the regime, and the dissolution of "security offices" maintained by the secret police in workplaces.

### Allies of working class

While the working class has moved to the center of the revolutionary offensive against the shah, the workers have been joined by allies from virtually every sector of Iranian society.

Students, for example, have taken over the universities, driving the police off campus and transforming the schools into organizing centers for the mass movement. One of the first actions of the new military government was to order all schools and universities in Tehran closed.

Peasants have also joined the protests against the shah, demanding democratic rights and opposing the abuses of the rich landowners. Although the capitalist media has made much of the shah's land reform, 80 percent of the Iranian peasantry remain landless or near landless.

Also participating in the movement against the shah have been the oppressed nationalities, the most important of which are the Turkish-speaking Azerbaijanis, numbering 10 million, and the 4 million Kurds. Tabriz, scene of some of the biggest protests, is the capital of Azerbaijan Province.

### Women in upsurge

An outstanding and unprecedented development in the course of the recent upheavals in Iran has been the active and massive participation of women. Tens of thousands of women have marched and carried banners in every major city of Iran where anti-shah demonstrations have occurred.

Women, organized in separate contingents and covered with their *chadors* (veils), led fraternization with the army troops in Tehran by throwing flowers upon them. Even the official government newspaper, *Rastakhiz*, reported of the pre-September 8 demonstrations: "The most visible thing was the active and massive participation of women shoulder to shoulder with men."

In the present wave of workers' strikes, the demand for childcare centers has been raised both by the coal miners and by the striking teachers.

Women's participation in demonstrations has continued and extended to the countryside. Of special importance has been the participation of female high-school students, whose militancy is becoming well known.

Women too have played a prominent role in the movement. One of the demands raised by 400,000 striking teachers is the establishment of childcare centers for teachers who are parents. This same demand has been raised by workers at the Alborg Coal Company in Zinab, who went on strike October 16.

The combativity of the Iranian masses and their determination to win their rights has been shown repeatedly in the course of the current upsurge. Demonstrators have defied the tanks and machine guns deployed by the army, and the thugs and gangsters hired by the regime.

In Amol, a city on the Caspian Sea, young people reacted to repeated attacks by government-hired thugs by forming a defense guard 3,000 strong on October 29. Armed with sticks, they began to patrol the

### Intercontinental Press vs Associated Press

"Political unrest and crippling strikes by civil servants and oil-field workers plague efforts by the Shah of Iran to modernize this ancient land," says an Associated Press dispatch from Tehran that appeared in the November 1 *New York Post*.

An AP dispatch in the November 2 *Washington Post* states that "Iran's troubles began early this year when conservative Moslems started demonstrations against the shah's reforms that gave greater freedom to women and redistributed mosque lands to peasants."

This type of coverage, which ignores the shah's entire bloody record of repression, is used to praise the monarch for moving "toward democracy" and to try to build support for an intervention by imperialist troops, if necessary, to defend "progress" and the shah.

Intercontinental Press/Inprecor's coverage of events in Iran has given the lie to these outrageous distortions of the revolutionary upheaval that is shaking the very foundations of the imperial butcher's "Peacock Throne."

The November 20 issue of IP/I, for example, has 11 pages of reports and analysis of events in Iran. These include excerpts from the diary of a participant in the upsurge, and a major article by Javad Sadeeg and

### Intercontinental Press combined with IMPRECOR



### Revolutionary Upsurge in Cities Across Iran

Azar Tabari, leading members, respectively of the Sattar League (the sympathizing organization of the Fourth International in Iran) and of the Organization of Iranian Supporters of the Fourth International in the Near East and Europe.

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# Iran

ty in groups of 50, searching all incoming cars to keep out the thugs.

In the Kurdish city of Sanandaj, also the scene of goon attacks, the people armed themselves with sticks, brandishing them during mass demonstrations to announce their readiness to defend themselves.

## The American shah

During the course of their struggle, the Iranian masses have raised three types of demands. The first has been democratic demands against the shah and his regime. These have included the demands for an end to martial law, an end to censorship, the release of all political prisoners, and the abolition of the monarchy. Also being raised is the demand for a democratically elected constituent assembly.

The struggle against the shah's dictatorship has also brought the Iranian people into direct conflict with American imperialism, since—as the editors of the *Vall Street Journal* put it November 3, “the shah is our man.”

Put into power by a CIA coup, his army dependent on U.S. weapons, his secret police established with American know-how, Pahlavi is called “the American shah” by protestors.

It is an indication of the general situation in Iran that Gen. Gholam Reza Azhari, the new head of the military government, received his advanced military training at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas.

The Iranian military and economic establishment is riddled with American advisers—some 45,000 in all. Thus, an increasingly popular demand among strikers in Iran is for the firing of foreign employees—that is, for independence from imperialism.

This demand was raised by striking airline employees, who also called for an end to pegging the Iranian currency to the dollar.

Similarly, the workers at the state-owned telecommunications company issued demands on October 28 that included:

- Termination of all colonial-type agreements between the Iranian company and American concerns;
- Opening the books on economic agreements with American companies to establish what profits had been made by them in Iran;
- Expulsion of the American advisers (employees of Bell Helicopter) hired by the Iranian company at exorbitant salaries.

## Capitalist exploitation hit

Along with democratic demands directed against the monarchy and imperialist domination of their country, the Iranian people have also raised demands aimed at their exploitation and oppression by the Iranian ruling class.

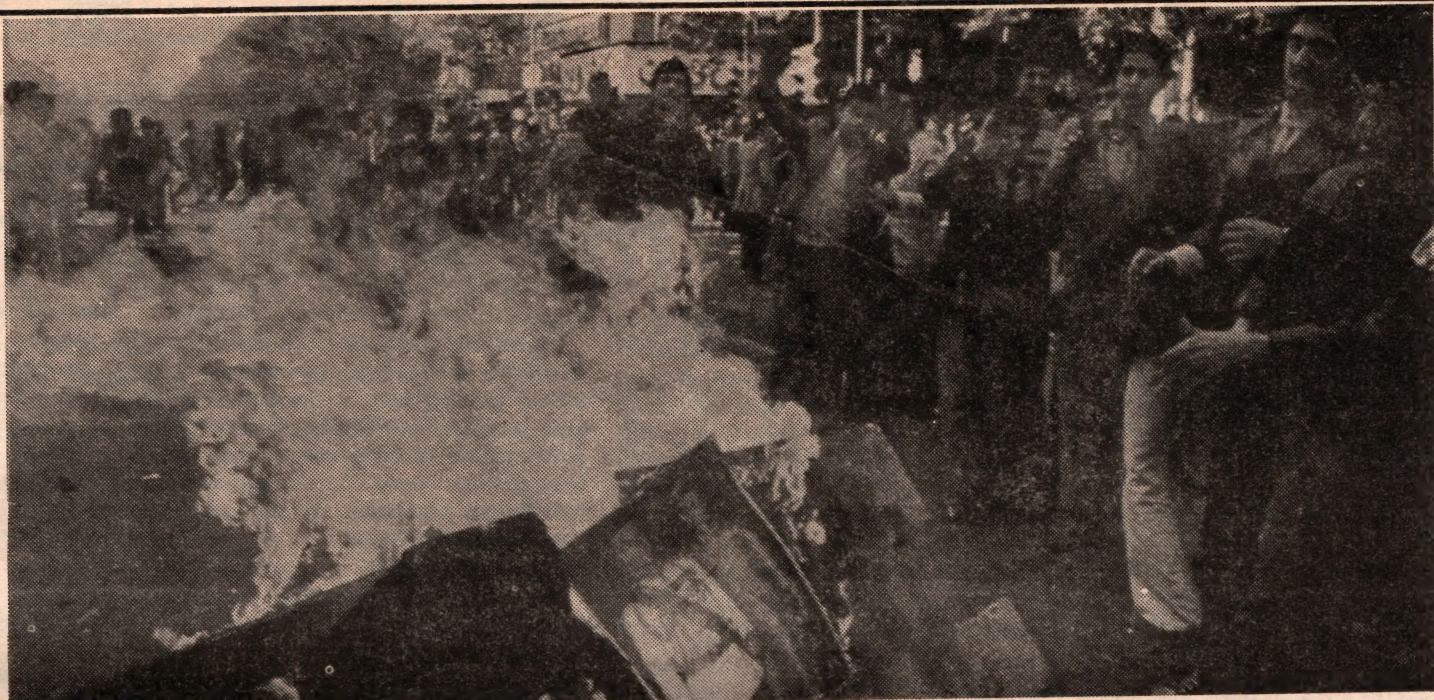
“Some of the demands that have been accepted,” William Claiborne reported November 4, “are extraordinary: paid meals, paid transportation to work, re-hiring of employees fired during the last 15 years no matter what the cause, pay for travel time to work, and dismissal of some supervisors.”

Women have demanded childcare and peasants have demanded land, and an end to the diversion of water by wealthy landlords.

In Tehran, workers at *Ayandegan*, a morning newspaper, found that after the government had temporarily removed its censorship they still had to contend with the censorship imposed by the owners of the newspaper. As a result, they went out on strike October 30.

Thus, the struggle of the Iranian people for their basic democratic rights has also begun to bring them into conflict with the injustices and inequalities built into the capitalist system itself.

This process has been repeated in colonial and semicolonial countries time and time again. When millions of workers and poor peasants are drawn into political



Antigovernment demonstrators set fire to portraits of shah.

struggle, they do not limit their demands to the fight against imperialist domination and for democratic rights.

For the masses, the fight for democratic rights and against imperialism is bound up totally with the struggle to change their social conditions—with the struggle for a better society.

## Road to modernization

How can Iranian society be modernized and the living standards of the masses raised?

Despite the shah's phony claims, there is no way that this can be accomplished under capitalism. It will take a socialist revolution.

Leon Trotsky, one of the central leaders of the Russian revolution, explained the tendency of struggles for democratic rights in the colonial and semicolonial countries to grow over into socialist revolutions—a process that he called permanent revolution.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the capitalist class was a revolutionary force. It led the peasantry and the plebeian masses in the cities against the feudal landowners, and was able to solve many of the problems of national independence, political democracy, and redistribution of the land through revolutionary action.

But social conditions have changed in the past 200 years. In countries such as Iran, the native capitalist class has been stunted by imperialist domination. Far from being the ideological and political leader of society, the Iranian capitalist class is weak and discredited. Moreover, it faces a modern working class with an

alternative program for the organization of society.

The type of mass mobilizations necessary to bring down the shah and throw off the yoke of his imperialist backers would inevitably challenge the position of the Iranian capitalists as well.

Under these conditions, the Iranian ruling class clings to its role as junior partner to imperialism. The bourgeois opposition figures have already retreated in the face of the mass movement.

This process, as noted above, is not limited to Iran. The inability of the capitalist class in the epoch of imperialism to lead the fight for democratic rights, land reform, and national independence was a central factor in the Russian, Chinese, Vietnamese, and Cuban revolutions.

Only the working class can lead the struggle for democratic rights in Iran to a successful conclusion. In order to advance this process, Iranian Trotskyists are campaigning for a constituent assembly—an idea that has also been raised by others.

A freely elected constituent assembly—that is, the election of a representative body by the whole people of Iran, through universal suffrage, and in an atmosphere free of censorship, intimidation, or martial-law restrictions—would accurately reflect the aspirations of the masses.

The convening of a constituent assembly would provide an opportunity for the workers and peasants to establish their own government, based on their own popularly elected organs.

Such a workers and peasants govern-

ment would not only assure civil liberties and independence from imperialist domination. It would also distribute the land to the working peasants, ensure the right of the oppressed nationalities to self-determination, and represent the exploited and oppressed against the Iranian capitalists. It would begin the real modernization of Iran—its socialist reconstruction.

Of course, all this cannot happen automatically. It will require a political struggle, and the leadership of a mass revolutionary socialist party. No such mass party exists today, but the situation in Iran is extremely favorable for building a party of this type.

The social upheaval taking place in Iran today—certainly the biggest revolutionary struggle in the country's history—is also one of the great revolutionary uprisings of our generation. With his appointment of a military regime, the shah has merely set the stage for the next phase of the confrontation.

If the old tyrant is to survive, he must break the general strike that is strangling his regime. That is why the shah has appointed Gen. Gholam Oveisi, the martial-law administrator who played a key role in suppressing earlier uprisings, to head the Ministry of Labor.

But even if the shah manages to force the strikers back to work at gunpoint—which remains to be seen—how long can he keep them back under such conditions? And how long will the ranks of the army put up with such a role?

One thing is certain: it will take a lot more than a declaration of martial law to solve the shah's problems.

—from *The Militant*

## 'Solidarity' messages greet shah on his birthday...

The shah of Iran celebrated his 59th birthday on October 26. Heads of state around the world sent their best wishes and greetings to the monarch.

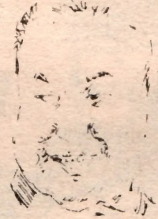


From Carter...

As I have mentioned before, we have thought about Iran very often in recent months. I know very well that the recent unrest has occupied your majesty's thoughts a great deal. But at the same time I am well aware of the fact that your majesty can be very

proud and satisfied with all that you have achieved for the progress of your country during the past 37 years.

From Hua...



It is a great pleasure for me to express my sincere greetings on the occasion of your majesty's 59th birthday.

I hope that your imperial highness will enjoy good health, and that Iran

will meet with new successes in the defense of its independence and national sovereignty, and will also reach new heights in progress and development.

## ...and from Brezhnev

Your majesty Mohammed Reza Pahlavi, light of the Aryans, king of kings of Iran: On the occasion of a day of national rejoicing for the Iranian nation—the birthday of your majesty—please accept the sincere greetings of the Executive Committee of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, and my own as well.

## ...but Cuba has a different response

Since the end of August, Cuba's press has been following developments in Iran closely. An article in the September 3 weekly English-language *Granma* carried the headline “The Largest Popular Rebellion in the Last 25 Years.” Describing Iran as a “country where the people are being victimized by ferocious government repression,” *Granma* writes that “the rebellion came about due to the dictatorship's reign of terror, headed by the Shah, which has lasted 25 years. Needless to say, lurking behind the army are 30,000 U.S. ‘military advisers’

made available by the Washington administration.”

The September 24 *Granma* describes the scope of the protests taking place in Iran and reports that more than 3,700 people have died. Despite the repression, “actions against the government continue throughout the country. In addition to the religious opposition, representatives of the most diverse political trends are taking an active part in the protests, demanding democratic freedoms, respect for the constitution and the release of political prisoners.”

According to the October 29 *Granma*, the regime of Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi faces “serious problems, threatening unforeseeable consequences for the autocratic system based on bloody terror.”

The November 5 issue of the paper reports on the deepening crisis, with special emphasis on the strikes taking place. It notes that reliable sources have said that the majority of the shah's family has fled the country.

from *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*



The following are excerpts from a resolution adopted by the Quebec National Committee of the Revolutionary Workers League (LOR). They have been translated from the November 10 issue of *Lutte Ouvriere*.

# Why the PQ retreats

The victory of the Parti Quebecois in November 1976 marked a major turn in the social and political crisis that had dominated Quebec for about a decade and given rise to the most significant working-class mobilizations in North America in the last 30 years.

The PQ's election not only opened up the most significant political crisis of the Canadian federal state since its creation; it also served to establish and qualitatively strengthen the hold of the PQ's program and strategy over the national movement, and behind it the labor movement. The PQ's victory came at the end of a profound wave of strikes, and thus was largely perceived as a trade-union victory.

This enabled the PQ to transfer the enormous hopes aroused by its election to a far-off and purely electoralist perspective—the referendum. In doing so, the PQ achieved two goals: it defused a potential situation of mass explosions in the months immediately following its election, and it postponed the unavoidable confrontation with Canadian imperialism to a time and place of its choosing.

The referendum constitutes the culmination of the political period opened in Quebec in 1976, for three reasons.

First, because Canadian imperialism has finally agreed to play the game, despite some initial hesitation. It has done so for two reasons: because it thinks it can win the referendum against the PQ, and because it thinks its own institutions and

stability will suffer much less if it is able to settle the crisis created by the national question without having to resort to open force. U.S. imperialism has obviously endorsed this tactical evaluation. This means that the referendum will be the first open test of force enabling the PQ and Canadian imperialism to measure the scope, the combativity, and the mood of the national movement in Quebec since 1976—as well as the capacities of the independent mass labor movement in the situation.

Secondly, the PQ has effectively succeeded in imposing its referendum strategy on the national movement in Quebec, subordinating the labor movement to it as well. Its success in this operation can be measured by the scope of the retreat of the mass movement in Quebec since 1976—a substantial fall in the strike rate; open class collaboration by the union bureaucracy, along with its dangerous corollary, inter-union rivalry; the breakdown of the National Association of Quebec Students (ANEQ), and so on. There is only one notable exception in this somber picture: the women's movement has continued to grow during the last two years.

There is no reason to expect that this situation will be modified very much between now and the referendum. This could lead the labor movement into a major crisis of orientation, as the

economic crisis continues to deepen.

Thirdly, it is not at all certain that the thin layer of critics that has emerged to the left of the PQ and in opposition to the Mao-Stalinists will resist the enormous political and social pressures that will be brought to bear on it during the referendum campaign. It may very well blow up and disperse. . . .

## Heading for a turn

We are clearly heading toward the biggest campaign of anti-Quebec blackmail through fear and economic terrorism ever seen in the history of this country. The imperialist ruling class will spend billions on this operation. The offensive is aimed at achieving two goals.

On the one hand, its explicit aim is to defeat the PQ during the referendum, then to return the Quebec Liberal Party to office during the 1980 provincial elections. To achieve this, it is seeking to rally behind Canadian imperialism the whole of the English-speaking community in Quebec, including its immigrant sectors, who are 75 percent working-class, as well as a substantial part of the petty bourgeoisie and the more backward French-speaking workers. At the same time it aims at intimidating the sectors of the petty bourgeoisie and the French-speaking labor movement that are sympathetic to the PQ.

On the other hand, the Canadian ruling class is seeking to prepare "public opinion" in English Canada for a new

escalation in repression against Quebec if it happens to lose the referendum. This repression could include economic and social destabilization, armed intervention, and so on.

This campaign could sufficiently intimidate the Quebec national movement to bring about a defeat of the PQ during the referendum. The PQ is perfectly aware of this. That's what lies at the origin of the debate in the party today on the nature of the question to pose in the referendum.

## PQ retreats

Since its victory the PQ has done nothing but retreat before imperialism. It was already clear that the referendum would not be on the question of independence. Now it is no longer certain that it will be on sovereignty-association as such—which suggests the significance of the pressure on the party. The debate on this question is far from settled, but the fact that it has been raised by the wing that traditionally has been responsible for the PQ's strategic turns testifies to what is at stake. We don't know how far the PQ is prepared to go in order not to lose the referendum. But one thing is certain: a referendum on the taxation issue or some other partial aspect of the sovereignty program would mark the adoption of a multi-stages approach by the PQ. This could qualitatively change its relationship to the national question and consequently to the mass movement.

By Etienne Lemieux

MONTREAL—Writing in 1967, while he was still a dissident member of the Quebec Liberal Party, Rene Levesque set out the central theses of the Mouvement Souverainete-Association (MSA—Sovereignty-Association Movement) in his book *Option Quebec*. Eleven years later those are the same views that guide the policy of the Parti Quebecois government. . . .

The concept of sovereignty-association is mainly a customs and monetary union with Canadian imperialism.

The PQ membership has not regarded such an association as an indispensable part of their program. In fact, in the early 1970s, while the Canadian ruling class was whipping up a campaign of political and economic terrorism in response to the rising nationalist movement in Quebec, they took some pains to explain in the PQ program that "agreement on the modalities of an association is not a necessary precondition for Quebec's becoming independent."

Now the real leadership of the PQ, which defines the main strategic line of the party, is again imposing its approach. It has always succeeded in bottling up any form of opposition within the party, using both its own prestige and frankly undemocratic maneuvers. Once again the PQ government violates a central plank in the party program—this time by refusing to

# PQ formula for defeat

proceed toward a form of political sovereignty that does not include some form of economic association with Canada. . . .

## Sovereignty-association by whom?

At bottom, the idea of sovereignty-association necessarily implies a very limited form of "sovereignty." It is the concrete, open expression of Quebec's inability, within the framework of the present economic system, to free itself from the chains of its economic domination and national oppression. It is also an admission in itself that Quebec cannot fully achieve self-determination by leaving intact the holdings of Canadian and American capital on its territory. It is in relation to those interests that the PQ leaders have defined, and are clarifying today, the content of the "independence" they propose—rather than as part of a struggle to the finish against national oppression.

Sovereignty-association is a theory that

leads the struggle for national liberation to defeat; in no way does it challenge or attack the roots of national oppression. During its two years in office, the PQ has shown how much it wants to "civilize big business." Its inability to block and to legislate against factory closures, such as those at Wayagamack and Cadbury, shows clearly its craven capitulation toward foreign capital.

The economic and political implications of the customs and monetary union would make Quebec's "sovereignty" more fictitious than real. A customs union not only threatens but guarantees the continued structural deformation of the Quebec economy relative to Ontario and the United States, and would condemn the Quebec economy to still further integration, clearly to its own disadvantage. A monetary union would give Quebec practically no margin of maneuver to adopt its

own fiscal policies capable of overcoming its economic development. In short, unemployment and inflation would be the order of the day, whether or not there was sovereignty-association.

Quebec's "political sovereignty" would be only a fiction in the framework proposed by the PQ. Statements by PQ leaders, under the pressure of American imperialism, that they will keep Quebec within NATO and NORAD are a rather brutal reflection of the kind of "sovereignty" proposed by the PQ.

There will never be real independence unless the working class takes the leadership of the national struggle through a workers party. The PQ wants to achieve a "sovereignty-subordination" that benefits Quebec capitalism. The working class must achieve a socialist independence that serves the majority. It's either socialist independence or a caricature of independence.

Neither sovereignty-association nor a "third road."

For a socialist independence led by the working class that smashes the chains of national oppression.

—from *Lutte Ouvriere*

**"Sovereignty - association is a theory that leads the struggle for national liberation to defeat . . . ."**







# International protest called to demand abortion rights

*Contraception and Abortion are Woman's Right! No Forced Sterilization!* Hundreds of women's groups on four continents are organizing for the protest.

## Why an international protest

No matter what other conditions a woman faces, if she is forced to bear children against her will and capacity (economic and emotional), she is fundamentally unable to shape her life, even within the constraints of our patriarchal/capitalist societies. Control of one's body is the bottom line, especially for the masses of women who face economic privation, with no access to domestic help, a husband's large income, or daycare services.

The desperation resulting from this unbearable situation is responsible for the fact that women, in their millions, continue to seek and suffer the consequences of clandestine abortion. And these consequences can be described as nothing less than ghastly. In

Mexico for example, a million abortions are performed each year, 20 percent by women on each other. More than 50,000 known deaths occur per year. In Spain, the prisons are full of women who have committed crimes of "sexuality," most of them "crimes" of abortion. Many die each year.

In Ireland, abortion is strictly illegal, and cannot be obtained under any circumstances. It also remains formally illegal in Portugal where 180,000 abortions are performed per year with a high fatality rate.

## Gains gobbled up

But even in the countries where there has been a liberalization of the abortion law under the pressure of the women's movement, the hard-won gains are being eaten—indeed gobbled—away. The big mobilizations of the French abortion struggle in the mid-1970s culminated in a partial victory: limited access to abortion on the basis of the usual liberal reading of the "threat to a woman's life." Now, especially

with cutbacks, the hospitals simply refuse to perform abortions.

In Italy, where demonstrations of 50,000 brought the government to its knees, women have found that regardless of the law they cannot have abortions. The church, through Sunday masses and the hospitals, has prohibited abortions. In fact they cannot be obtained legally.

In England, Germany, Switzerland, English Canada and Quebec, the United States, and New Zealand, economic and religious reaction has put into question all the formally won rights of women to abortion. Capitalist patriarchal representatives have succumbed to the agitation of far-right currents like the so-called Right to Life, the National Front, and Anita Bryant's Renaissance, as well as to the Catholic church.

This attack on abortion rights has been made easier by the relative lull in the vigilance of the women's movement. In country after country, the movement fought for abortion rights, and in many cases won the formal right.

As a result, many women activists turned their attention to other problems. Abortion became a subject for parliamentary debates and evangelical tirades, not for mass mobilization. The enemy was given a clear field and took it.

The women's movement now finds itself confronting a strong, internationally coordinated offensive against abortion rights, and is not yet organized to meet this challenge.

A strong, militant international day of action on abortion can begin to reverse the situation. The women's movement can once again assert its demands and its strength. Using March 8, International Women's Day, as a stepping stone, actions linking up with the sisters from Europe, the U.S., and Latin America can respond here to the right-wing forces and strengthen the worldwide women's liberation movement.

For more information on the International Day of Protest contact: National Abortion Campaign/ICAR, 30 Camden Rd., London, N.W. 1, England.

By Varda Burstyn

"Even today, in Europe, more than four to six million women are forced to resort to clandestine, illegal abortions each year. This means subjecting themselves to deplorable sanitary conditions, to an exhausting and demoralizing search for a good address, to the impression of being a criminal, and therefore to desperation."

So begins the *International Manifesto on Abortion*. The manifesto has served as a focus of discussion in a series of international meetings of representatives of the women's movement from all over Europe.

At the June 1978 meeting a call was launched for an *International Day of Protest on Abortion, Contraception and Sterilization* on March 31, 1979. The proposed slogans for the day are:



## Hospital workers walk out

Interview with Yvette Yates

Alberta hospital workers are holding a series of strikes after a breakdown in province-wide bargaining. On November 14, *Socialist Voice* interviewed Yvette Yates, a member of Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE) Local 1158 in Edmonton, and of the negotiating team representing 5,000 hospital workers.

*Socialist Voice:* What are the issues in dispute?

Yvette Yates: The first is wages. We want an across the board increase. They're offering 6 percent. With these percentages, the lower people aren't getting anywhere. Second is our layoff clause, based on hospital-wide seniority. We've had to fight for that. We've had it for 15 years and they're saying to us "we want it out." They want to give us seniority by department and by classification.

S.V. What kind of people are in the bargaining unit?

Y.Y. Our local is mostly women; not more than 30 men. And there are quite a few immigrants too.

S.V. Has there been any strikebreaking activity?

Y.Y. The managers are driving scabs in and out. The cops had a discussion with management at Lynwood Extended Care, and then told us picketers, "I'm telling you to walk faster." Then when a car just about hit some picketers, they didn't do anything even when we phoned them.

S.V. What do you think of the Alberta Hospital Association's appeal for "volunteers"?

Y.Y. It's an appeal for scabs. I don't care if you're a volunteer or not, you're a scab.

S.V. How has the strike developed so far?

Y.Y. We're putting pressure on the Alberta Hospital Association

to get back to mediation. In Red Deer, there are 300 workers, and they're out now, along with more in the same local at Innisfail. We've got 360 here in Edmonton in Local 1158 at three hospitals. We'll take out a few hospitals here and a few hospitals there, until they get back to the table.

S.V. Have your plans been affected by the postal strike and labor's response to that?

Y.Y. When they went out, they were ordered back. We're making it harder for them to order us back, but if they continue the attitude they've got, we're going to pull them all out.

We'll go to the Alberta Federation of Labor (AFL) for support if we have to and the national (CUPE) is supporting us now. But as far as I'm concerned, the AFL and CLC aren't doing the job they're supposed to. Like with CUPW, they said they're behind them, but where the hell were they?

By Kathy Woodward

EDMONTON—One hundred fifty women reclaimed the streets November 18 in a march spearheaded by the Edmonton Women's Coalition (EWC). Edmonton has been nicknamed "rape city."

The demonstration began from an area of the city which is particularly dangerous for women to walk through. The protestors moved from the downtown streets to a rally and press conference at the University of Alberta.

The march had been contemplated for several months by the EWC, but it wasn't until a city woman was attacked and could not find help that the idea became a reality with publicity and the media accompanying the demonstration.

At the rally, Mary Hickmore from the EWC reiterated that safe streets are a woman's right and called for increased lighting on streets, government funding for rape crisis centers, easily accessible public alarms, and more nighttime public transportation. She commented on the solidarity achieved

between various women's groups and independent women because of the demonstration and said that an active struggle against violence against women must continue.

Student Legal Services staffer Shelley Wright said that the Canadian law institutionalizes women's oppression and pointed out that only one out of every ten rapists is convicted.

Because of its status as a registered charity the financially destitute Edmonton Rape Crisis Centre could not officially participate in the march but a written statement applauded the efforts of the EWC "to bring to public attention the problem of violence in the streets."

Evie Mandel gave a brief history of the EWC's militant actions of the past year and informed the rally of the EWC's involvement in the upcoming international campaign for abortion rights culminating April 1979 and in the International Women's Day 1979. The money raised from the rally was divided evenly between the EWC and the Edmonton Rape Crisis Centre.

S.V. What about the Parkland strikers? Some of them were on your picket line this morning.

Y.Y. Last January, they broke that injunction limiting picketing. Next it was broken by other CUPE people, then by the AFL convention, and then by people from the Edmonton Women's Coalition and the RWL. Once it's broken, it should have stayed broken. What did we elect these AFL people for anyway? [AFL President Harry] Kostuk should have stayed out on that line and later [NDP leader Grant] Notley too, until the strike was won. We hope that we have some support,

but if they didn't come out for CUPW. . .

S.V. What is at stake in this strike?

Y.Y. We're government workers, low-paid people working with old people. The government is trying to keep small people down. They had the controls, so we're so far behind we don't know if we'll catch up. The controls are off, but we're still stuck with them [Premier Lougheed's "informal controls"]. They'll take away our right to bargain and to strike.

Our people are scared for their jobs but they're going to fight. We're not going back.



# Solidarity in fight against Somoza

By Alan Russett

The struggle of the Nicaraguan people against the murderous Somoza dictatorship is winning international support. In Toronto on November 10 Ernesto Cardenal, priest, poet, and a leading representative of the Sandinista National

Liberation Front, addressed a successful rally of 300.

Cardenal expressed optimism about the future struggle in Nicaragua, despite the ferocity of the repression. He indicated the Sandinista Front had made a strategic retreat and had not itself suffered heavy losses. While there was a temporary setback, he pointed out, the general offensive continues. He said that the anti-Somoza army is the whole people of Nicaragua.

Most important, Cardenal urged international solidarity with Nicaragua. He called upon the Canadian people to put pressure on the government to impose a political and economic boycott against the Somoza regime, and to oppose any possible imperialist intervention.

The meeting was a good start. It was sponsored by a significant number of organizations: Oxfam-Ontario; Nicaraguan Human Rights Committee; Latin American Working Group; Inter-Church Committee on Human Rights in Latin America; the student Christian movement; Bethune College of York University; and the Chile Resistance Working Group.

More than \$1,700 was collected at the meeting and given to Cardenal to aid the anti-Somoza struggle in Nicaragua—a graphic indication of the depth of

sentiment in the audience. Some \$30,000 had been raised in Quebec previous to the Toronto meeting.

The Nicaraguan Human Rights Committee in Toronto, in which members of the Revolutionary Workers League participate, will continue to organize solidarity work.

In the discussion at the Cardenal meeting, RWL members put forward the need to organize concrete future support actions, to strengthen the committee, and to carry the issue into the labor movement.

While the Trotskyist movement disagrees with the Sandinista policy of making alliances with capitalist forces and including them in any provisional government that replaces Somoza, we give full support to the efforts of the Sandinista National Liberation Front to mobilize the Nicaraguan masses to overthrow the Somoza regime. The United Secretariat of the Fourth International has called for worldwide mobilizations in solidarity with the Nicaraguan people and, in particular, with the organizations of the workers movement.

These mobilizations can help win democratic rights, defend the victims of repression, and pave the way for the downfall of the Somoza dictatorship.



Nicaraguans gave victory sign and waved goodbye as political prisoners recently released by dictatorship flew into exile.



## world outlook

### Spanish feminists oppose constitution

Activists in the women's movement in Spain are calling for a vote against the country's new constitution, which faces a nationwide referendum on December 6.

The first Spanish constitution in 40 years makes no mention of abortion, childcare, or simple incompatibility as grounds for uncontested divorce.

"During last year's election campaign, much was made of the women's vote," one member of the women's movement told Mike Lowe of the *Toronto Globe and Mail*. "But now, many women feel cheated by the new constitution."

The new constitution leaves standing Spain's rigid custody law, giving husbands the absolute right to custody of children in cases of marital breakup. While legalizing contraceptives, the constitution will require that women get a prescription for them from a doctor, which means getting a man's approval since the Spanish medical profession is overwhelmingly male.

The constitution also codifies discrimination against working-class and poor women. Contraceptives are not covered by social security, and the few abortions and church-approved divorces available are extremely expensive.

"So we still haven't achieved control over our own bodies," explained one feminist. Another activist told Lowe about the reaction of women to the support of the Communist Party and the PSOE (Socialist Workers Party of Spain—the mass Social Democratic party) for the constitution.

"We feel that women's issues were used as a trade-off for other gains in the constitution by the left-wing parties, so there is some disaffection among Socialist and Communist women militants, whose parties support the constitution."

Given the betrayal of the women's struggle by the mass workers parties, the women in Spain do not expect that their campaign will be successful in defeating the constitution in the referendum.

### New Soviet workers union formed

A group of workers in the Soviet Union has launched a new attempt to form an independent trade-union organization.

The seven founding members of the union, the Free Inter-Professional Association of Workers, said in Moscow on October 29 that the union would work for the defense of the economic, social, religious, and political rights of its members. It would carry on the work of its predecessor, the Free Trade Union founded by Vladimir Klebanov, many of whose members had been arrested in recent months. Klebanov, along with other members of the union, is still being held in a psychiatric hospital.

### Communist parties hail pope

The election of Polish Cardinal Karol Wojtyla as the new pope met with a favorable response from several Communist parties. The Italian Communist Party, for example, hailed his election as "a turning point in the history of the church."

Polish CP Secretary Eduard Giersek sent a note of heartfelt congratulations, "cosigned by Poland's premier and president. 'The significant decision of the Cardinal's Conclave,'" wrote the three leaders, "fills Poland with great satisfaction."

### 6,000 march against nukes in Germany

Six thousand antinuclear activists turned out for a demonstration October 1 in Biblis, West Germany, a town located on the Rhine River south of Frankfurt. Biblis is the site of the largest operating nuclear reactor in Western Europe.

The demonstration had rather broad support. In addition to a wide range of community groups and environmental organizations, the action was sponsored by several political organizations, including the Young Socialists, the organization affiliated to the German Social Democratic Party; several Maoist groups; and the International Marxist Group, the West German section of the Fourth International.

### New arrests in Brazil

Two leaders of the Socialist Convergence in Brazil, Julio Tavares and Romildo Fernandes, were arrested in Sao Paulo on October 30. Tavares is the national coordinator of Socialist Convergence and an editor of the group's newspaper, *Versus*.

Meanwhile, the Brazilian political police have demanded that eight other members of Socialist Convergence who were jailed in August be held in continued "preventive detention."

Police accuse the eight of being members of the Partido Socialista dos Trabalhadores (Socialist Workers Party) and of carrying out "political-subversive work" in Brazil.

Letters and telegrams demanding the immediate release of Tavares, Fernandes, and the other imprisoned socialists should be sent to Brazilian embassies or to Ministro Armando Falcão, Ministerio da Justica, CEP 70064, Brasilia, Brasil.

## Rally hails Nicaragua struggle

By Beverly Bernardo

HAMILTON—Approximately 200 persons saluted Nicaraguan freedom fighters as part of a Latin American pena here on November 10. The event was jointly sponsored by the Hamilton Chile Committee, the Hamilton Committee for Defense of Peruvian Civil Rights, and the Emergency Committee for Argentine Political Prisoners and Refugees.

The featured speaker was George Cramm from the Inter-Church Committee on Latin America. Cramm spoke on the growing repression in many Latin American countries—particularly Peru and Argentina.

A speaker from the Hamilton Chile Committee, who is also a member of Amnesty International, spoke on how the ruling military juntas in Argentina and Chile are manufacturing a situation which could lead to a war between the two countries. The war danger is being used to defuse opposition to the worsening economic situation in both countries.

Joanne Holowchak from the Committee for the Defense of Peruvian Anticommunist Alliance. The Peruvian government has condoned these actions by its failure to stop them. Holowchak urged all supporters of democratic rights to oppose such terrorism.

The evening also included singing, dancing, and Latin American food.

## Immigrants harassed

By Sarah Butson

EDMONTON—On November 2, 23 year old Bassem Ferkh, a University of Alberta student, was deported back to Lebanon, only one week after his arrest. The deportation was part of the growing use of intimidation and deportation of landed immigrants and visa students by the Canadian government.

Ferkh's deportation order was based only on grounds of "suspicion" of his involvement in a 1976 assassination of a U.S. ambassador. The order claimed that Ferkh was "capable of violence" in Canada.

The new Immigration Act outlines that the only recourse for individuals not represented by a lawyer is right to counsel. Generally, such counsel is provided by an immigration officer

whose personal discretion is the sole criteria required for deportation proceedings.

Now undergoing interrogation, and probable torture in Lebanon, Ferkh is yet another victim of the government's stepped-up campaign of hysteria against immigrants. This tactic is used to isolate and intimidate those who are least protected in capitalist society.

Ferkh's case received extensive media coverage after his deportation, thereby serving to minimize the possibility of any public defense campaign on his behalf. A precedent has been set for more deportations based on similar unproven grounds.

Another incident in Edmonton points to mounting police intimidation. A peaceful demonstration of 50 Iranian students and supporters took place on

November 11 to protest the recent imposition of military rule in Iran. Chanting "Iran the next Viet-Nam, U.S. get out of Iran," demonstrators were the subject of intense police and immigration personnel surveillance. Police were remarkably open about photographing the demonstration in a clear attempt to harass and intimidate immigrants who chose to exercise the most basic of democratic rights.

In the face of growing social instability, immigrants and visa students are easy targets and their democratic rights are being eroded quickly in English Canada and Quebec. Immigration defense committees should take up the defense of cases such as Ferkh's. Workers and their allies must unite in public protest against these attacks on immigrants.



# Bergman's symphony of despair



By Michael Kaufman

For over two decades the films of Ingmar Bergman have explored a world where the old values and the old expectations have been destroyed by the bombs of two world wars. They have examined the closeness people can feel at the same time as the universe of aloneness that keeps them apart. They have walked into a dark tunnel of despair and pain, and, except in brief moments, have never come out the other side.

*Autumn Sonata* is the story of Charlotte (Ingrid Bergman) and her daughter Eva

(Liv Ullman). After a separation of seven years, Charlotte finally agrees to visit Eva—now in her late thirties—who lives with her husband Victor (a quiet minister) and her sister Helena, who is degenerating from a disease akin to multiple sclerosis.

Charlotte is a woman who wasn't loved as a child and who is now unable to love. She is a woman who fled her own children to travel the world as a concert pianist. She is a person who can reach out and express herself only at the keys of a piano, who can love and give something to an audience of 3,000 but not to two young kids.

Eva is the product: another person who cannot love. A person who cherishes the macabre thought of her dead son softly breathing on her face as she sleeps, for this was the one person she has ever really loved. Eva is a person who has bottled up so much hurt and such incredible hatred against her mother that it blows up out of any proportion. (She feels her mother "caused" Helena's disease.)

Charlotte's visit is a short one as Eva explodes with the force of a bomb that has been ticking away for almost forty years.

*Autumn Sonata* brings us what we have learned to expect from Bergman.

Masterful acting and a tight script combine with painstaking direction and photography to create an impression that keeps you motionless in your seat and leaves you feeling weak and drained when the film ends.

Whatever the movie's flaws, we cannot ignore Bergman's insights. He shows the privatization of feelings and emotions within our society—the turning in against ourselves of the fear, pain, and rejection that we feel coming from others and the outside world. These are the same pent up feelings that led to the breakdown in *Face to Face*. They are the same ones that lead to the crises and explosions in each and everyone of our own lives.

Bergman shows the deep scars that adults carry from their childhood. No matter how a parent's actions are explained to a child, no matter how the child seems to cope, there is a reality to them that is more lasting than any words.

He talks of inability to love someone "just as they are." Our lives, our loves so often seem to be intricate exercises in remaking someone else in our own image. We want others' love, but not their demands.

But there is a problem with the film.

This is Bergman's whole view of the world. Bergman is a man who has seen the world fester. He is an honest man who won't turn his eyes away from this. But he also has no real alternative.

He is a man who has lost faith, a religious man who no longer can believe in God. The character of Victor is one we have often seen in Bergman's films for this is Bergman himself. He is a man for whom only love can fill the space, the gap created by the end of faith. But in *Autumn Sonata* there really is no love except that expressed by or for the dying (Helena) or for the dead (Eva's son, Charlotte's lover).

*Autumn Sonata* is a symphony of despair. Nothing is achieved or solved. At the end Eva returns to her illusions and hopes. Charlotte returns to deceiving herself and flees once again.

*Autumn Sonata* is a powerful and well-crafted film, but it is also one more twist of the knife of hopelessness and emptiness.

Contrary to this tale of generations of unloved and unloving people there are those of us who will have children precisely because we see more than a lifetime of despair. There is love, and there is a vision of a future where "the muck of the ages" will be buried forever.

## New voice for Asian Canadians

In early November last year, about 2,000 persons, mostly South Asian immigrants, took part in a demonstration in Toronto against racism. Over the past two years reports of racist attacks have steadily increased in the big business media. These incidents are but the tip of the iceberg of racist violence against "visible minorities."

The mass response to the November 1977 demonstration shows that immigrant communities are prepared to respond to

racist attacks through mass mobilizations and active self-defense. And such responses frequently cut across language, ethnic, and national divisions.

A voice for this new generation of immigrant community militants is *The Asianadian*, a quarterly magazine published in Toronto. Two issues have already appeared. The publishing collective describes itself as a group of "concerned and dedicated Asian Canadians and other sensitive individuals."

The magazine responds to the natural concerns and needs of immigrant communities in their search for roots.

"Gut History! What is it? It is history from the inside out. The history of Asians in Canada has been written from the outside in—funded by the Secretary of State or done by academics—for 'academic' interests. What about the history of Asians by Asians? What about the history of individuals? History that after all is experience—the experience of thousands of people who struggle to

survive in a society that often sees them as invisible. They get told about as if they were living in a very cute movie with a happy ending—and now we are all 'new Canadians'."

The first two issues include articles on the Vietnamese in Canada, the Chinese communities of Toronto and Hamilton, the history of Japanese fishermen in BC, and the Filipino community center. In publishing this history the *Asianadian* collective helps immigrants to fill the gaps in understanding their past. They also want to "encourage more people to get involved in writing their own history in order to further our own creativity and thus contribute to our own unique perspectives to Canadian society."

The collective also sees the need to speak out against those factors perpetuating racism in Canada. This is an important struggle against not only overt forms of racial violence, but the stereotypes as well—the Asians unable to say "real lemon"—the economic exploitation, and the general tendency

towards injustice and inequality experienced by "visible minorities."

The magazine offers a wide spectrum of services, interviews, and cultural items for their communities. Interviews with activists in the struggle against racism like Jag Bhaduria, executive director of the Canadian Council for Racial Harmony. ("Come with me, with your face blackened, and I'll show you what it means to be a non-white person in this city. . .")

The fall issue will focus on the experience of Asian-Canadian women.

For readers unfamiliar with these communities, *The Asianadian* offers a unique opportunity to understand their struggle. It is written from the perspective of militants. Those struggling for a truly multicultural, multiracial, and socialist society can learn much from their experiences.

—p. Nightingale

*The Asianadian*, P.O. Box 1256, Station Q, Toronto, Ont. M4T 2P4. Subscriptions \$4.00 per year (4 issues).



## B.C. Fed goes slow on jobless

By Dave Cooper

In response to increasing unemployment and the federal government's proposed amendments to the Unemployment Insurance Act about 60 delegates of the B.C. Federation of Labor Unemployed Committee met on November 4 to review an action program for the upcoming provincial labor convention.

Statistics Canada lists 100,000 out of work in B.C., with only 4,000 unfilled jobs. Reports to the conference from across the province listed jobless levels at 9-12 percent with up to 18 percent in the Kamloops area. Tom Baker of the

carpenters union pointed to unemployment rates averaging 35 percent in construction and up to 40 percent in some building trades unions.

Finance Minister Jean Chretien has announced plans to cut UIC benefits by \$580 million in 1979, and by up to one billion in 1980. The changes include longer qualifying periods and longer workweeks in order to qualify for benefits, and a reduction of the maximum benefit rate available to the unemployed. Chretien's "savings" will be taken from the pockets of the jobless.

Stu Leggatt NDP MP, told the conference that this is "part of the continued effort of the Liberal government to solve the problem of unemployment by attacking the unemployed."

Unfortunately, the program advanced by B.C. Fed leaders against these attacks consisted mainly of public-relations gimmicks and lobbying. Two calls will be sent to the CLC urging action; the government will be asked to build a merchant marine; and coordinators and public-relations people will be hired. The only action proposal made by the B.C.

Fed executive was for a mass demonstration at some unspecified time in the future.

This program was criticized by a number of delegates who proposed a real campaign for action. Cliff Mack, a United Steelworkers representative, supported the call for a demonstration but pointed out that "it looks like another one-shot deal." He said that rather than token statements from union leaders, protests such as the October 14 general strike against wage controls and previous actions against

unemployment should have been used as the starting point for a massive campaign.

A Canadian Paperworkers member said, "We need more than a PR campaign." He pointed to labor-supported occupations of UIC offices in the Maritimes by claimants being cut off UIC benefits. He reported that his local had passed a motion recommending a union of the unemployed, opposition to all plant closures, a campaign against all overtime and moonlighting, and full union rights for the unemployed.

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## Locals call for special convention

# CUPW defense gets under way

By Bob Mills

"When the government tries to take away our rights you can be sure our union is going to struggle to take them back," Jean-Claude Parrot told a cheering audience of 700 in Vancouver November 17. Other labor leaders who spoke were greeted with applause as they pledged support for the Canadian Union of Postal Workers' (CUPW)

defense campaign.

The rally, organized by the Vancouver local of CUPW, is part of a continuing effort to counter government attacks on CUPW leaders and harassment of postal employees by Post Office management. Dave McIntyre, secretary-treasurer of the B.C. Federation of Labor, expressed the solidarity of the Fed executive with the postal workers'

struggle. Syd Thompson, head of the Vancouver local of the International Woodworkers (IWA) and president of the labor council, also spoke, as well as representatives of other unions and the NDP.

The rally followed on the heels of a successful fund-raising benefit organized a few days earlier, and attended by more than 600 people.

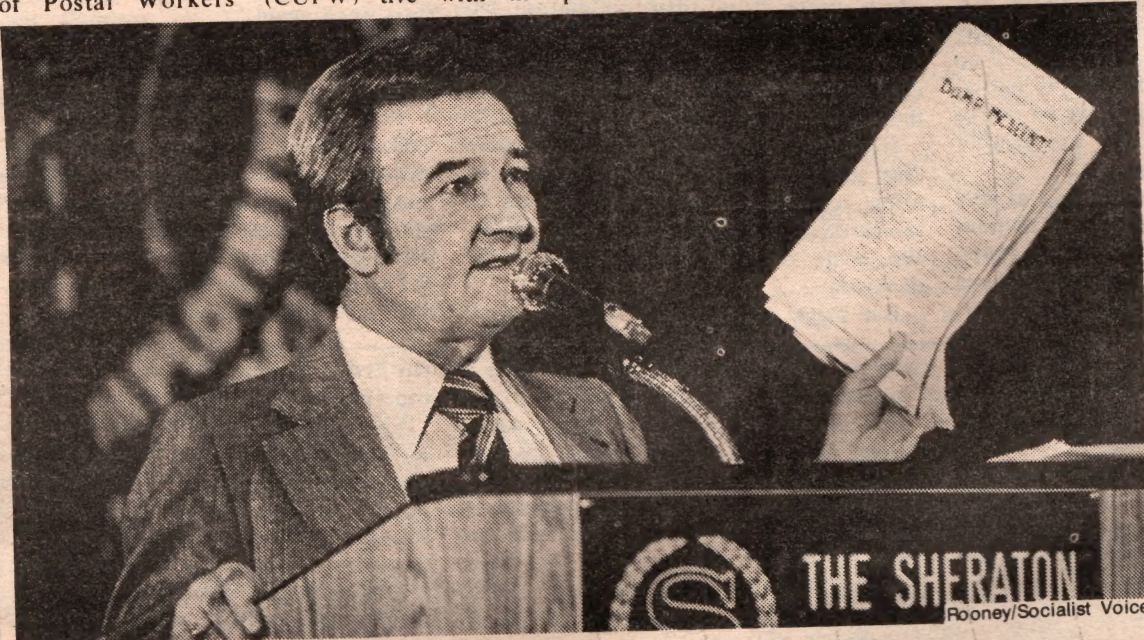
These efforts by the union are obviously having some effect on Post Office management. Three Vancouver postal workers recently received indefinite suspensions related to their union activity. But union pressure forced a reduction to 10-day suspensions.

In Toronto, defense efforts got under way last week. The first regular meeting of the Toronto local since the strike voted overwhelmingly to endorse the local strike committee's initiative to set up a defense committee. Over the past few weeks four Toronto workers have received indefinite suspensions for minor infractions of Post Office rules. Management has recommended these four be fired, citing their activity during the strike as grounds for this action. More than 300 Toronto employees also received warning letters related to their activity in the national strike, and some have undergone disciplinary hearings.

Because of the clear and apparent need for a cross-country response to this type of management harassment the local voted to call for a special CUPW convention to work out a common strategy. A few weeks ago the Vancouver local passed a similar motion.

Such a convention could mark a big step forward for the postal union in developing a unified response to the government and Post Office management. Many good local initiatives are already being taken: the Ottawa local is circulating a petition; the Toronto local is planning a press conference; Vancouver has organized mass rallies. But there is need for common action, supported by all the postal locals.

Another urgent necessity is an assessment by the union of the role played by the CLC during the postal strike. The CLC leadership proved unwilling to support CUPW during its moment of need, and showed many postal workers that a new leadership is needed in the union movement. That leadership must break with the no-win strategy of the McDermott gang and base itself on policies that represent real solutions for working people. Parrot hinted at the Vancouver rally that the CUPW leadership was preparing a new action program for the labor movement. A special CUPW convention held early in the new year would be a good opportunity for CUPW local leaders to discuss that program and the union's attitude to the CLC leadership.



Dennis McDermott responds to criticism of his role in CUPW strike by red-baiting.

# OFL brass protects McDermott

By Ken Theobald

TORONTO—The Canadian Labor Congress executive's lack of support to the CUPW strike provoked the longest and sharpest debate at the Ontario Federation of Labor convention held here on November 13-16.

The OFL Executive Council had voted 69-1 to back the CLC's position but submitted a two-page statement to convention delegates that mentioned neither the CLC nor CUPW's defiance of back to work legislation.

The OFL statement focused on the role of the federal government in provoking the strike and called for the dropping of all charges against postal union leaders, continuing negotiations, and the speeding up of the conversion of the Post Office into a Crown Corporation.

OFL President Cliff Pilkey admitted the statement was designed to "defuse" the growing debate in the labor movement over the CLC's actions. Despite this attempt the floor debate went on for 90 minutes with only members of the OFL and CLC executive councils defending the CLC's position.

Along with the OFL statement a four-page letter from CLC president Dennis McDermott outlining the Congress's position was distributed. The letter said that CUPW was walking into a "trap" and had the CLC "embarked on the course of action that CUPW was requesting, that nothing short of a general strike would have sufficed," leading to "the spectre of total anarchy."

Nearly all of the speakers during the debate criticized the OFL statement for not proposing anything to defend CUPW and slammed the inaction of the CLC. Many said the CLC had used a "phony" issue of a general strike as a "cop out," an "excuse" for doing nothing. One delegate said,

"if nothing can be done other than a general strike, then we might as well disband the labor movement."

CUPW delegates pointed out that the CLC remained silent during their strike and then stabbed them in the back when they returned to work. One said that McDermott with his statement had become part of that "trap" for CUPW.

Paul Heffernan, chairman of the Toronto CUPW strike committee, said, "We were fighting for our lives... and we turned to the labor movement and they weren't there."

Naomi Jolliffe of the Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE) called McDermott's letter an "apology for doing nothing." She pointed out that CUPW was asking for such things as "mass picketing in defense of the right to strike," and not a general strike. Only a

few unions responded, she said. "Now we can rectify that somewhat with a united defense campaign including demonstrations and meetings."

United Autoworkers director Bob White attempted to give a left cover to the CLC's decision. "We are talking about taking on the government of this country," White said, and it has to be done "in a coordinated and intelligent fashion." Labor may have to shut down this country, he continued, but the CUPW strike wasn't the right time.

If the CLC has any such "co-ordinated" strategy, it is certainly keeping it a well-hidden secret.

The convention delegates were given no opportunity to vote on the CLC position. The OFL statement was adopted by a two-to-one majority.

Although not one central union leader, except from the United Electrical Workers, spoke

out against the CLC, it was clear that a large portion of the convention did not support the Congress position. The Ontario Division of CUPE put out a Newsbulletin to the convention criticizing the CLC.

Most expected McDermott to speak on the CUPW issue in an address to the convention the following day. Instead, he completely avoided it. To the amazement of the delegates, McDermott was escorted in and out of the convention by at least a dozen marshals. As he walked in, more than a third of the delegates either sat in silence or booed. McDermott started his speech by saying he wanted to "talk about where the labor movement is going," when one delegate shouted, "It's going down the drain."

His speech was devoted entirely to what he called the

"new direction" for labor—to build a democracy "where the working class has equal footing with the other sectors of society" through "hard work and organizational effort" in the "political arena." He denounced those who see "infantile revolutionary bullshit" as a substitute and who see the labor movement as a "stage for ideological ego trips." At a news conference later he identified the people he was talking about as "cadres in CUPW and those who support them."

After McDermott's speech, Paul Heffernan of CUPW went to the microphone on a point of order. Pilkey refused to recognize him and the marshals shoved him away from the mike. Heffernan later said he wanted to ask whether the marshals "were to protect Dennis McDermott from us or us from the likes of Dennis McDermott."

The next day, a CUPW delegate read a statement of protest: "The position of the leadership would seem to be trying to renew a new era of McCarthyism. All delegates should have the right to express their views without being red-baited or slandered by the leadership of the CLC or the OFL."

At the OFL convention, the union brass continued to do what it did at the CLC convention—try to isolate CUPW from the rest of the labor movement. But the hostility to the CLC and the fact that a CLC president for the first time was guarded at a labor convention shows that it is the bureaucracy who will eventually be isolated in the ranks of labor.

The way forward for the CUPW struggle was pointed out by a petition circulated by the Ottawa Defense Committee of CUPW calling for repeal of Bill C-8 and the dismissal of all charges.



Paul Heffernan, CUPW delegate, being pushed away from microphone. OFL official refused to allow him to ask question after McDermott's speech.